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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

A MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS OF INDIAN AND NON-INDIAN STUDENT ALIENATION

by

© David A. Simonson

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "A Multivariate Analysis of Indian and Non-Indian Student Alienation," submitted by David A. Simonson, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to essentially replicate the Bryde (1966) study in its general methodology, but also to modify its rationale, formulate a different operational definition of its central concept, and extend its experimental design.

Bryde's purpose was to investigate the non-intellectual correlates of the "cross-over" phenomenon, a behavior exhibited by many Indian students who achieve satisfactorily in the lower grades, but who then "cross-over" and exhibit a steady decline pattern in academic achievement during their remaining school years. Bryde hypothesized that the stresses induced by the differences between the Indian and non-Indian cultures reach a peak during the adolescent period, and are expressed in the form of personality disturbances that hinder academic achievement and favor a high drop-out rate. The instrument used by Bryde was the MMPI, augmented by alienation scales drawn from the MMPI Compendium. The use of that instrument revealed that the cross-over phenomenon was, in fact, associated with increased levels of psychological maladjustment, and Bryde concluded that the concept of alienation appears to be central in explaining the personality disturbances of Indian students.

The present study began with a thorough review of the literature currently existing on the topic of alienation,

and a new, more all-encompassing definition of the concept was formulated. Alienation was seen by the writer as involving a series of feelings of estrangement; of the self from the self, from others, from the culture, from nature, and from the supernatural. These feelings of estrangement were seen, in turn, as eliciting within the individual feelings of powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, purposelessness, self-contempt, distrust, and pessimism.

A new instrument, entitled the Student Orientation Inventory, was designed to operationalize the chosen definition of alienation. After conducting a pilot study to ascertain the reliability and validity of the instrument, it was administered to Indian and non-Indian students, as well as to Indian drop-outs, in the Yukon Territory.

An analysis of the resulting data revealed that, although, strictly speaking, the cross-over phenomenon was not found to be in evidence, the decreased levels of academic achievement of the Indian students were, in fact, associated with increased levels of alienation as measured by the Student Orientation Inventory. Further, it was found, as in the Bryde study, that the Indian students were significantly more alienated than were the non-Indian students, and the Indian drop-outs were, in turn, significantly more alienated than those Indian students who did not drop out.

These results lend support to the Bryde view that the concept of alienation is central to the explanation of the behavior of Indian adolescents.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

> We are different than we used to be. The government has put us in a little box with a lid on it. Every now and then they open the lid and do something to us and close it again. We are a dying race. Not this generation but the next will die.
>
> Willie Denechoan, Medicine Man.
> Hay Lake, Alberta. (Robertson, 1970)

The Problem

The problem to be explored in this dissertation has its origin in the contact that has taken place between the North American Indian and the European immigrants. Four hundred and eighty years have elapsed since the commencement of permanent contact between these two groups, and for much of that period, the interaction has been largely unsatisfactory.

Numerous writers (e.g.; Zenter, 1963: Barry, 1965; Braroe, 1965; White, 1961; Fisher, 1967, 1969) attest to the marked negative effect that the imposition of white behavior patterns has had on the social and cultural patterns of most North American Indian tribes. Spilka (1964), Bryde (1966), and Couture (1972) consider the educational failure of the majority of Indian students to be evidence of the stress induced within the Indian students by the imposition upon them of a culture alien to their own.

It is the psychological concomitants of this

educational failure, or more specifically, the changes in personality variable patterns that may occur during a time of school grade progression, that constitute the general problem to be investigated in this study.

The Purpose of the Study

The basic purpose of this investigation was to essentially replicate the Bryde (1966) study in its general methodology, but also to modify its rationale, formulate a different operational definition of its central concept, and to extend its experimental design.

Bryde's purpose was to investigate the non-intellectual correlates to the "cross-over" phenomenon, a behaviour demonstrated by various Indian student groups who achieve satisfactorily in the starting grades, but who then "cross-over" and reveal a steady decline pattern in academic achievement during their remaining school years. See Figure I. The existence of the cross-over phenomenon is attested to by numerous writers (e.g., MacArthur, 1962, 1965, 1968, 1972; Bryde, 1964, 1966; Spilka, 1964, 1966; Couture, 1967, 1972; Heninger, 1969; and Lyon, 1971).

Bryde hypothesized that the stresses induced by the differences between the White and Indian cultures reach a peak during the adolescent period, and are expressed in the form of personality disturbances that hinder academic achievement and favor a high drop-out rate.

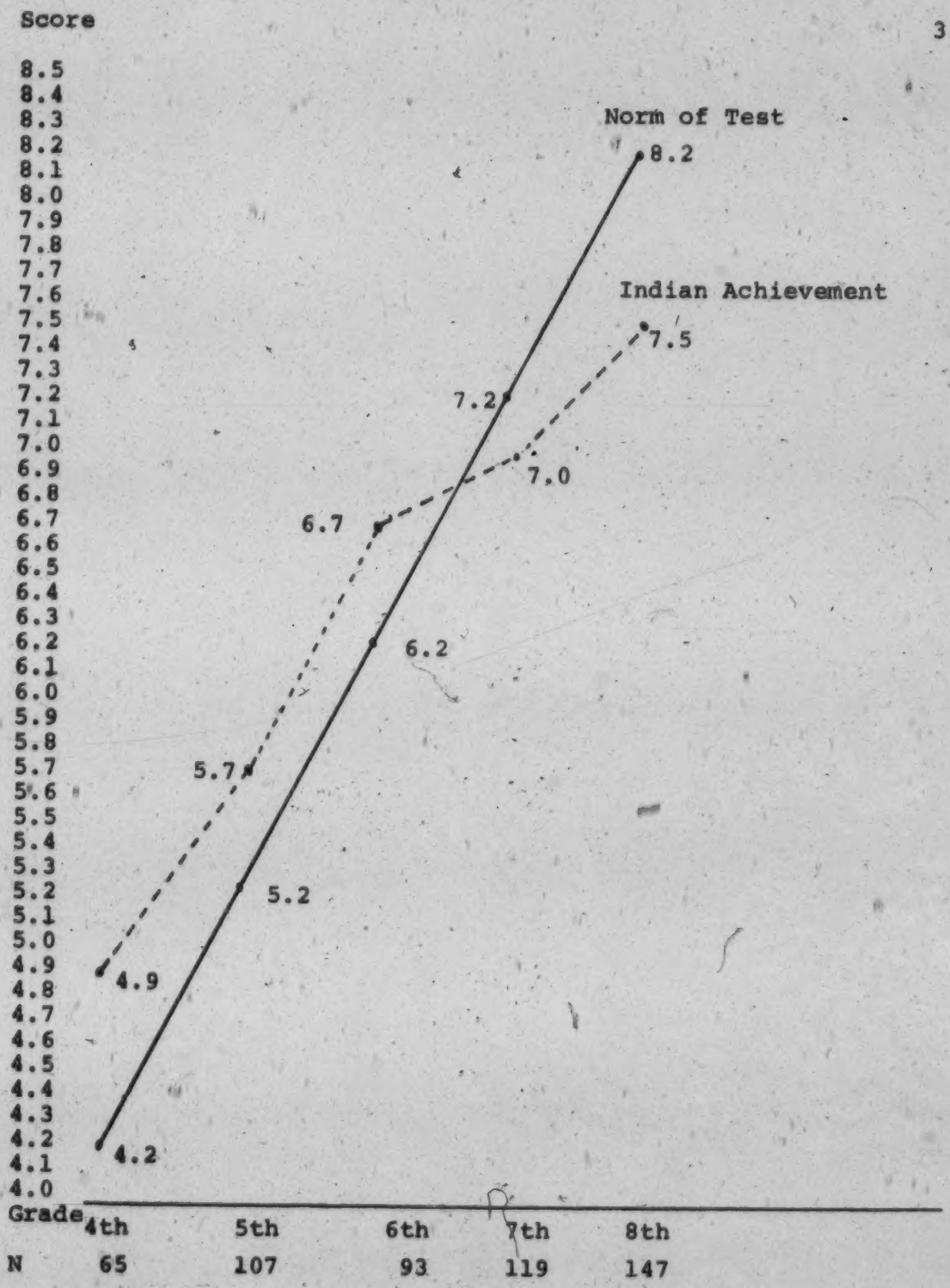

Fig. 1. California Achievement Test Scores of Indian Eighth Grade Students (Bryde, 1966, p. 38).

The instrument used by Bryde was the MMPI, augmented by alienation scales drawn from the MMPI Compendium (Dana, 1956). (The Compendium is a collection of all of the currently available MMPI subscales, compiled by R. H. Dana for the St. Louis State Hospital Research Project.)

Bryde did find that the cross-over phenomenon was, in fact, associated with an increased level of psychological maladjustment as measured by his instrument in grades seven eight, and nine, and he concluded that "the concept of alienation appears to be central in explaining the personality disturbances of Indian students" (p. 141).

The purpose of this study also was to explore the cross-over phenomenon in an intercultural setting. This study differed, however, from that of Bryde in three major aspects. First, a somewhat more rigorous conceptual definition of alienation was developed. Second, a new instrument was designed and tested to impliment the chosen definition of alienation. Third, the instrument was administered to a wider grade spectrum of Indian and non-Indian students.

Assumptions

This study is based primarily on three assumptions:

1. The advent of the White culture has had the effect of bringing the Indian culture from a state largely of self-sufficiency to one characterized by a relatively high degree of dependence. In turn, and in varying degrees, new and

usually conflicting cultural and behavioral patterns have been forced upon the Indian.

2. There exist ascertainable and quantifiable non-intellectural correlates of the observed decline in the academic achievement of Indian students relative to White students.

3. The concept of alienation can be endowed with a sufficient degree of measurable meaning in an intercultural context to warrant a comparison of Indian and non-Indian groups on this dimension.

Summary

The general problem under consideration as well as the specific purpose of this study were delineated in this chapter.

The assumptions underlying the study were considered.

Literature related to the study as well as the details of the research design will be considered in the two following chapters.

The basic concepts of acculturation, alienation, and educational achievement will be defined after a review of related literature.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter is devoted to a review of the literature relevant to the concepts of cultural change, alienation, and Indian educational achievement. In this analysis, an attempt is made to delineate the relationships existing among these three areas.

Cultural Change

An understanding of the concept of "cultural change" is obviously based upon an understanding of the concept of "culture". The Linton (1963) definition is selected here as being, in the opinion of the writer, one of the clearest, and defines culture as:

> . . . the sum total of the knowledge, attitudes, and habitual behavior patterns shared and transmitted by members of a particular society (p. 466).

It is commonly held (e.g., Beals, 1962; Spindler, 1965) that cultures are adaptive mechanisms, patterned and shared responses to human needs. Culture is, however, in constant change, drift, or adaptation to changes in human needs. The adaptive mechanisms can, however, be improved upon, and this inherent imperfection, together with the dissatisfaction of individual members, can and does make for cultural change (Tremblay, 1962, p. 301).

Cultural elements are the contents or behavior patterns that an individual has to learn or unlearn as a participant in

cultural change. Under normal conditions of change, no old element is discarded until a satisfactory substitute has been found for it in all of its functional relationships. Under abnormal conditions of change, however, old elements are discarded without satisfactory substitution by new elements. Thus, whenever the normal change process is inhibited such that there is a series of losses of behavioral patterns without replacements, then certain needs of the group are not satisfied, derangements in social and economic relationships are produced, resulting ultimately in profound discomfort for the individuals involved (Graves, 1967, p. 310).

Indeed, Opler (1959, p. 9) writes that culture includes the transmission, through families and social units, of traditional systems of regulating behavior, ethics and attitudes. He notes, however, that this transmission does not occur with perfect regularity. A culture is often enough in a state of flux to contain serious conflicts in values and action patterns, throwing individuals and entire groups into states of empty, unsatisfying, and disturbed functioning, and producing a series of problems best called mental illness.

A related, and relevant concept to introduce at this point is that of acculturation. For a definition, again the Linton position is selected. Linton writes that

> . . . acculturation consists of those phenomena which result when groups of people having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with

> subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either of both groups . . . (1963, p. 463).

Malinowski (1945) was one of the first to point out the tensions and frictions inherent in cultural adaptation.

Indeed a study of the history of the contacts between the North American natives and the European immigrants reveals that the first steps in such acculturation have usually been negative, i.e. certain patterns in the native culture were inhibited. The path of cultural change that has been traditionally presented to the North American Indian has been one of varying degrees of disintegration of norms and values, leaving the various individuals and groups in a state of confustion and frustration (Vogt, 1957, p. 156).

In a similar vein, Leighton (1959) notes that rapid and extensive acculturation affects the mental health of the population and can create social disorganization.

Spindler and Goldschmidt (1952, p. 80) write that persons in the transitional category, alienated as they are from the cultural symbols of their ethnic past and at the same time not having internalized the symbols that constitute the value system of western society, will exhibit more symptoms of personality disorganization than members of groups closely identified with the symbols of either of these cultural types.

Wallace (1962) notes that of primitive groups, forced into situations of cultural conflict and of partial,

unorganized acculturation, anthropologists have frequently recognized that such groups seem prone to a higher frequency of personality trait disorders, and that such disorders proliferate under the conditions produced by cultural conflict and partial acculturation.

Bryde (1966, p. 7) points out that Wallace has also identified four distinct stages of cultural change.

1. A stage marked simply by a slow, steady pressure to change.

2. A stage of increased personal stress, arising as a reaction to the pressure of the first stage. The social system is forced into disequilibrium by such things as war and social subordination, and an increasing number of people begin to view the culture as being inadequate to meet their needs. Thus, the incidence of disillusionment, anomie, and ultimately mental illness rises sharply.

3. A stage of cultural distortion in which groups of people attempt to restore equilibrium to the social system by institutionalizing functional expedients. Behaviors such as alcoholism and breaches of sexual and kinship mores, that were considered as individual deviances during the previous period, become widespread.

4. A stage during which the socio-cultural system is reconstructed in a revitalized manner, resulting in a resolution of the social ills of the previous stages.

Wallace notes, however, that after over 400 years, the majority of the North American Indians have not arrived at this stage.

A significant point to note here is that despite severe changes in environmental conditions, and although much cultural variation exists among different tribes of Indians, there seem to be almost universal psychological characteristics of the North American Indian that have persisted. (Kardiner, 1945; Caudill, 1955; Barnow, 1963; James, 1961).

As McNickle (1962) writes:

> In any case, Indian characteristics exist and remain in play after centuries of Indian-White association. The Dominican monks who in 1544 described Indians as "not acquisitive" and "satisfied with having enough to get along from day to day," were describing traits that are complained of in modern times by aggressive, hustling White men (p. 8).

Honigman (1961) states that "a number of reports . . . suggest quite convincingly that a high degree of psychological homogeneity characterizes the American Indian" (p. 123). Thus, culturally, Indians may appear more and more to be like the Whites, but psychologically they remain Indian. As Spindler (1955) and Fisher (1966, 1969) maintain, acculturation is often more apparent than real in that attitudinal continuities do in fact exist.

Alienation

The literature on alienation is extensive, and the term has been used in such a variety of contexts to mean so many different things that its current meaning is somewhat in question. As Keniston (1965, p. 451) states:

> The ambiguous concept of alienation has become increasingly fashionable, and partly as a result, increasingly devoid of meaning. More and more, the term is used to characterize whatever the author considers the dominant maladies of the twentieth century. And since views differ as to what these maladies are, the meanings of alienation fluctuate with each writer, and often according to the moods of the same writer.

A prime example of this ambiguous usage of the term is to be found in the writings of Fromm (1941, 1955, 1961). Although Fromm has played a great role in the popularization of the term in North America, he uses it so freely and loosely that the results are often more confusing than illuminating. He seems to refer to almost everything that he disapproves of as an instance of "alienation", and since he disapproves of a great deal, it is not at all surprising that he finds alienation to be "all-pervasive". Thus, when Fromm states that man, work, the process of consumption, our society and way of life, the predominant types of interpersonal relationships, language, love, and thought are all "alienated," he conveys nothing more than that he feels something is wrong with these various things. Any expression used in so many different contexts loses all specific conceptual content, and serves merely to suggest

dissatisfaction.

It should be noted, however, that Fromm in his writings emphasizes alienation of four types as being primarily characteristic of modern man; alienation of the self from the self, from others, from society, and from nature.

A surprising amount of insight into the commonalities tying the various usages of the term together may, however, be garnered from some understanding of the traditional uses of the term in Middle English literature. Schacht (1968) isolates three such distinct meanings of the term:

1. To refer to a transfer of ownership, to cause something to come to belong to someone else.

2. To refer to a type of mental disorder, to the loss of one's mental powers.

3. To refer to a state or process of interpersonal estrangement; to cause a separation to occur.

While all three of these meanings could be viewed as applying to the situation of the North American Indian (i.e. their land has certainly come to belong to someone else, and a type of mental disorder seems to be prevalent), it is apparent that it is in the third sense that the term is used in social psychological literature.

As Lang (1964, p. 19) states:

> Alienation as most generally used in social science, denotes an estrangement or separation between parts or the whole of the personality and significant aspects of

the world of experience.

The separation denoted by the term may be between (a) the self and the objective world; (b) the self and aspects of the self that have become separated and placed over against the self, e.g. alienated labour; (c) the self and the self.

A further and integrating insight into the meaning of the term is obtained by a consideration of the historical development of it in the social psychological sense.

To a considerable degree, Kahler (1957, p. 43) is correct in his assertion that ". . . the history of man could very well be written as the history of the alienation of man" in that although formal discussions of alienation itself are largely limited to the last one hundred and fifty years, the theme of alienation--of estrangement, outcastness and loss--is an archetypal theme of human life and history. Adam and Eve were estranged from God and outcast from Eden, and since then, in every tradition known, themes of irrevocable loss of former closeness abound in myth, literature, history, and life (Keniston, 1965, p. 389).

It is found, however, that the first person to use the term alienation in a manner referring to a state or process of interpersonal estrangement was Hegel (1949) although he drew many of his ideas directly from Schiller (1954). Hegel held that the world in which man lives is, to a considerable extent, a world he himself has created. More specifically, social, political and cultural institutions constitute what Hegel refers to as the "social substance," and this social substance has come into

existence and has been sustained in existence, through centuries of human activity. Referring to alienation specifically, Hegel viewed it as a separation or discordant relationship that develops between man and the social substance as a result of man developing a self-concept, an awareness of himself as being an individual distinct from all others. Indeed, to Hegel,man's "essential nature" involves union with the social substance, but his "actual condition" involves a separation from it.

Marx (1963) was, in his early life, fascinated by Hegel's writings. He did, however, consider Hegel's concept of alienation to be too vague, and he assumed the task of reducing it to a more concrete level. To do this he spelled out his concept of man's nature and the activities that he felt characterize a truly human life. These activities he saw as individuality (that expresses itself through labor and productivity), sociality (that expresses itself through relations with other men), and sensuality (that expresses itself through the cultivation and enjoyment of the senses).

Marx viewed alienation as a "separation through surrender", i.e. man is separated from his essential nature as a result of surrendering his control over his labor and product, and this, in turn, leads to the separation of man from other men. Marx saw such alienation arising primarily from the flaws inherent within a capitalistic society.

In addition to the foregoing, two more of Marx's

insights may have direct relevance for the current situation of the North American Indian. The first of these is that Marx feels that man "fulfils himself" and "realizes his individuality" through his labor. The North American Indian, caught as he is in the so-called "welfare trap" has no such labor through which he can "fulfil himself."

The second insight that Marx presents is that under "anomic conditions" (This term will be defined later when dealing with the ideas of Durkheim and Merton.) an individual cannot develop a positive self-concept.

The writings of various existentialists (e.g., Sartre, 1943, 1960; Heidegger, 1962; Tillich, 1951, 1952, 1957, 1963) are particularly illuminating on the topic of man's estrangement. But as Loken (1968) notes, the existentialists have been almost ignored in psychological definitions of alienation due to the empirical and operational difficulties emerging from attempts to quantify these positions.

Sartre uses the term alienation in two rather distinct ways in his principal philosophical works. Neither is, however, radically new.

In "Being and Nothingness" (1943) the usage of the term is very similar to one previously developed by Husserl (1965), referring to the individual's experience of himself as an object (rather than pure subject), through the mediation of another individual ("the gaze of the other"). Sartre does, however, go beyond Husserl's ideas, and

although he does not use these terms in his analysis, his discussion of an individual being turned from a "being-for-itself" (l'etre-pour-soi) into a "being-in-itself" (l'etre-en-soi) by the "gaze of the other" is in fact, a discussion of how a person can become alienated from himself and his potentials by interpersonal relationships. The resulting state of "being-for-others" (l'etre-pour-autrui) is, in fact, a condition of alienation of the self from the self.

Between the time of the publication of "Being and Nothingness" (1943) and the "Critique of Dialectical Reasoning" (1960), Sartre underwent what has been called a radical conversion, from a non-Marxist to a strongly Marxist orientation. And not too surprisingly, in view of this conversion, his new usage of the term is very Marxian, referring to the relationship of one to his productive activity and one's product, and the implication for one's selfhood. As he says ". . . it is perfectly accurate to say that man is the product of his product" (p. 318).

In a similar vein, the writings of Heidegger (1962) are eminently significant in any discussion of alienation, although a portion of the ideas he presents is not entirely original either.

Heidegger's prime concern is with the "Dasein," the "being-who-is-there," and the related modes of "being-in-the world." The world that the "being-who-is-there" is in has actually three aspects:

1. The umwelt--meaning literally "the world around", the natural world of objects.

2. The mitwelt--the world of interrelationships with human beings.

3. The eigenwelt--the person himself with his self-awareness.

Heidegger then proceeds to spell out three types of "ontological guilt" that result from improperly "being-in-the-world". These relate, respectively, to the above mentioned aspects of one's world:

1. a separation guilt.
2. A guilt against one's fellows.
3. a guilt from forfeiting one's potentialities.

This mode of improperly "being-in-the world" is what Heidegger refers to as "inauthentic existence", and is what the writer (and Fromm) would choose to call alienation from nature, from others, and from oneself, respectively.

It could be noted at this point that the concepts of authentic versus inauthentic existence form the basis for Riesman's (1950) book, "The Lonely Crowd", only he uses the terms inner and other directedness.

It could, and perhaps should, be noted here also that Heidegger's concepts, illuminating though they are, are in fact merely Hegel's concept of the disparity between a person's essential nature and his actual condition, only reversed: Hegel felt that alienation involved on separation

from the social substance, whereas Heidegger feels that living in unison with and according to the demands of the social substance is the very essence of inauthentic existence, i.e. alienation.

Tillich (1951, 1957, 1963) too, presents many of his ideas in retreaded Hegelian terms, and states that:

> . . . man's estrangement from his essential being is the universal character of existence (1957, p. 74).

He further states that "existence is estranged from essence" (1957, p. 30), and that "essential humanity includes the union of God and Man" (1957, p. 94).

Rogers (1951, 1961) stresses Heidegger's concept of authentic versus inauthentic existence in his discussion of how psychological maladjustment develops. He feels that a person has, as the result of the self-actualizing tendency, a need for positive regard from others, and this results in them trying to live up to the expectations of others, i.e. what he terms "living under conditions of worth."

May (1958, 1960) essentially takes Fromm's topic of "the predicament of modern man," i.e. the loneliness resulting from the loss of self, the loss of unity with others and nature, and proceeds to bridge the gap between alienation and existentialism. He stresses that man is forever free, free to decide what he will become. Indeed, he feels that the before-mentioned losses can be recouped only through what Tillich (1952) would call "the courage to be", i.e. through self-affirmation or living authentically.

Laing's (1965) position is perhaps also of relevance here. He presents the view that much psychological maladjustment (and in particular, schizophrenia) results from being unloved and rejected in early life. As a result of this early rejection, the individual invents a "false self" with which to confront the outside world and his own despair. The disintegration of the real self keeps pace with the growing unreality of the false self until, in the extremes of schizophrenic breakdown, the whole personality disintegrates. This process Laing sees as developing as the result of a person trying to live in an inherently unliveable situation.

King (1967) presents a very similar idea when discussing the reaction of Indian children to the former residential school situation at Carcross, Yukon. He writes that, to maintain an equilibrium with their own peer group and the impersonal White adult society, the Indian children adopt the mechanism of creating a "school self" that functions only within the boundaries of the school. The children sustain themselves with the conviction that their "real self" is not this person in school at all.

A term that has been long associated and often used interchangeably with alienation is anomie. The credit goes to Durkheim (1960) for first giving the term a technical sociological meaning, and he sees it as referring essentially to a breakdown in social control, a state of cultural disorganization and deregulation in which the individual is

unable to refer his behavior and that of his fellows to any stable set of standards. Thus anomie is technically construed as an objective property of a social system that elicits a subjective state of normlessness within the individual.

In spite of Durkeim's view of anomie, it is Merton's (1963) reformulation of the concept that has been definitive for contemporary sociology. According to Merton, anomie is

> . . . a breakdown in the cultural structure, occurring particularly where there is an acute disjunction between the cultural goals . . . and the socially structured capacities of members of the group to act in accord with them (1963, p. 114).

Thus, Merton has in mind the situation in which cultural goals for the most part can be achieved only through deviance from societal norms. Under these circumstances, there emerges what he terms a "strain toward the breakdown of norms."

The most significant contributions toward bringing some order out of the chaos surrounding the term alienation have been made, perhaps, by Seeman (1959, 1962, 1967) and Keniston (1965, 1968, 1971).

After an exhaustive review of the literature, Seeman presented an organized view of the uses of the concept, and provided an approach to tying historical interest to empirical efforts, identifying five central dimensions of alienation: powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, social isolation, and self estrangement.

Seeman later (1971) added the concept of cultural

estrangement to the previously mentioned dimensions of alienation.

Spilka, Bryde's mentor, upholds the Seeman (1959) definition of alienation, and combined Seeman's concepts with those of Merton (1963), Srole (1956), and Dean (1961) to form what he terms the General Alienation Scale (Spilka and Thorp, 1966).

Keniston, on the other hand, took a somewhat different stance, and proposed that contemporary alienation is not just imposed on men by an unjust economic system, for example, but rather is actively chosen by some as a means of repudiating society.

As a result of his longitudinal, in-depth study of alienated youth, Keniston developed an operational definition of what he considers to be the "alienation syndrome". The scale is composed of eleven subscales, each reflecting what Keniston considers to be an index of alienation. These indices of alienation Keniston holds to be distrust, pessimism, avowed hostility, interpersonal alienation, cultural alienation, self-contempt, social alienation, vacillation, subspection, outsider, and unstructured universe.

On the basis of more recent work Keniston, (1971, 1972) has focused more upon the concepts of self estrangement, self-contempt, distrust, and pessimism.

Loken (1968) and Field (1970) found the Keniston scale to be both a valid and reliable measure of alienation.

Spilka and Thorp (1964), Neal and Rettig (1967),

Srole (1956), McClosky and Schaar (1965), Nettler (1957), Struenning and Richardson (1965), Dean (1961) and others have also extended efforts in the direction of operationalizing the various definitions of alienation and/or anomie.

To summarize and integrate this review of the history of the use of the term alienation, one could refer to Schacht's (1968, p. 240) conclusion which holds that:

> . . . all attempts to provide an all encompassing, formal analysis of "alienation" that would be generally applicable have failed. They have failed not merely because they have overlooked what is truly common to the various uses of the term. Rather they have failed because there is nothing common even to most of its different uses.

However, in spite of both the apparent diversity of usages and the above conclusion, it is the contention of the author that the various expressions in use do in fact point to one prime common denominator; namely to a causal relationship existing between socio-cultural conditions and specified feelings within the individual.

Perhaps it is that the currently existing multitude of views on alienation are not so much incorrect as they are partial, in that the wider perspective that would encompass them all has not yet been developed.

Alienation as Related to the North American Indian

There is an extreme paucity of literature specifically relating the concept of alienation to the situation of the North American Indian. At present, only two such

studies of an empirical nature are known; Bryde (1966), and Couture (1972).

The Bryde study was mentioned in the previous chapter, but in view of the fact that the present study is essentially a modification and replication of it, further elaboration of it is here in order.

As previously stated, the purpose of the Bryde study was to investigate the correlates and possible causes of what is colloquially known as the "cross-over" phenomenon as exhibited by Oglala Sioux Indian adolescents. This term refers to the phenomenon exhibited by groups of students who achieve satisfactorily in the lower grades, but then "cross-over" and show a steady decline in academic achievement during their remaining school years.

It was assumed that conflict between the White and Indian cultures comes to a focus at adolescence and causes severe personality disturbances which block achievement. This assumption led to the hypotheses that 1) a comparison of Sioux Indian and White adolescents on achievement and MMPI variables would reveal significant differences in the undesirable direction on the part of the Indian student; 2) that these differences would correlate in the undesirable direction with degree of Indian "blood" (i.e. biological heritage); 3) that Indian dropouts, in comparison with Indian students who stayed in school, would reveal significantly greater personality disturbance.

All hypotheses found support, and Bryde (1966,

p. 141) concluded that "the concept of alienation appears to be central in explaining the behavior of the Indian students studied."

Couture (1972) replicated the Bryde study using the same instrument, but on two samples of Alberta Indian youth. Similar results were obtained indicating both the usefulness of the alienation concept in an intercultural study and the prevalence of the cross-over phenomenon.

At this juncture, a point of debate should perhaps be brought out: Spilka feels that the Indians are not part of and are therefore alienated from the dominant white culture. Fisher (1968), on the other hand, argues that technically speaking, the Indian is not alienated. In his words:

> . . . the Indian may look alienated, but really he isn't. His situation is one of being within the complex of "cultural conflict." He may be "alien to," but is not "alienated from" White culture (p. 173).

Regardless of one's position in the above debate, Hawthorn's (1967) comment is of relevance:

> . . . One of the outstanding themes of Indian youth is the sense of alienation they feel with regard to their own culture and also to non-Indian culture. If one accepts many of their expressions at face value, one is forced to conclude that the majority of them live in a no-man's land from which they have no escape . . . (p. 116).

A perhaps more basic question has been raised as to whether or not an alienation construct has validity as an explanation of Indian behavior. While it has advantages, as witnessed by the above applications of it, it should be noted that alternatives are claimed.

Explanations have been expressed in terms of "cognitive style" (Spindler, 1963), or "passive resistance" (Fisher, 1967), of "sociosis" in preference to neurosis (Van den Berg, 1961), of "process of dis-illusionment" (Edgerton, 1965), of "psychosocial nomadism (Kush, 1968). However, it is the contention of the writer that the apparent heterogeneity of these various approaches lies solely in the terms, and that they are not, in fact, really alternatives. Such labels point basically to the same reality, such as described by Bryde (1964, 1972), that of psychological maladjustment induced by cultural disruption.

However, the use of the term alienation presents two problems. The first difficulty is with regard to the conceptual definition of the term, and the second involves the difficulties inherent in operationalizing the chosen definition to explore the selected phenomenon quantitatively.

The writer's view on the first point has been largely elucidated in the preceeding sections; he feels that most theoretical positions on alienation involve an assumption that a causal relationship exists between socio-cultural conditions and the psychological state of the individual. Further, he feels that the currently existing multitude of definitions of alienation are not so much incorrect as they are partial, in that a wider framework that would incorporate them all has not as yet been developed. This point will be dealt with further in the next chapter, as it becomes a methodological problem.

The second point of concern, that of operationalizing the chosen definition of alienation, will be dealt with in considerable depth in the next chapter, as it is almost exclusively a methodological problem.

As a summarizing comment, Mead's (1963) position is of relevance--that whatever the conceptual and psychometric shortcomings involved in the usage of the term alienation as an explanation of observable Indian behavior, it is a contribution to the theoretical explanation of the psychocultural phenomenon of Indian acculturation. It is a step toward meeting the need for an adequate psychological theory of the processes of cultural influence on behavior and the nature of character, as well as for an adequate cultural theory of formation, and of the way that individual behavior is to be referred to a cultural and societal base.

Educational Achievement

The discussions of acculturation and alienation in the proceeding sections appear to indicate that there are basic elements which tend to converge, thereby inducing a state of alienation within the individual. This convergence, in the case of Indian students, ostensibly manifests itself in educational conflict and failure. As Hawthorn (1967, p. 115) states:

> The Indian child may have as much difficulty in understanding and becoming re-oriented to the world of school as do the school personnel in understanding why this child is different and what his problems are. The Indian child from the first day experiences few successes and many frustrations and lacks the ability to articulate

> his confusion and misunderstandings and so reduces his opportunities for resolving them. Negative self-images begin to emerge reinforced unwittingly by teachers and peers. The alienation process becomes firmly entrenched, reaching its peak of negativism and despair about the sixth or seventh grade. The cumulative educational deficit increases with age.

There is again a general absence of information bearing directly on the concept of alienation relative to the educational achievement and early life experiences of Indian children. The preceding quote does, however, help to define the problem.

Hawthorn further stresses that the early socialization of the Indian child ill-equips him for meeting the demands of the educational system. The early school experience tends to comprise such a profound discontinuity in his previous learning experience that, upon entering school, he immediately falls behind, and often never fully recovers the academic ground lost.

Renaud (1971), in a similar vein, notes that the Indian child, on the average, undergoes a pre-school and out-of-school life experience quite different from that of the children for whom the school system was designed. As a result, he is not similarily prepared to "get on the educational assembly line" and stay on it to the end.

Zintz (1958, 1963) has also investigated how different cultural values can cause maladjustment and underachievement in the classroom, and notes that lasting contact of two cultures causes friction and maladjustment and "as minority ethnic group children progress through the

school grades, their achievement falls farther and farther behind" (1963, p. 117).

Marinsek (1958) points out the same lack of achievement in the classroom caused by different cultural values and feels that in order to have any success in the classroom at all, the teacher must be aware of the values of the students.

Sasaki (1960) writes, concerning the Indian reaction to a white classroom situation, that rapid change from the Indian way of life may leave the Indian child with the problem of being confused as to which set of rules to live by. Further, the difficulty of making decisions in this situation may result in emotional problems related to the inability to form a positive self-concept. (One is reminded here of the earlier-mentioned comment of Marx; that under conditions of anomie; it is impossible to form a positive self-concept).

Indeed, as Hawthorn (1967, p. 142) notes, it is difficult to imagine how an Indian child attending an ordinary public school could develop anything but a negative self-image. First, there is nothing from his culture represented in the school nor valued by it. Second, the Indian child often gains the impression that nothing he or other Indian students do is right when compared with what non-Indian children are doing. Third, in both segregated and integrated schools, one of the main aims of teachers expressed in reference to Indians is "to help them improve their standard of living, or their general lot, or

themselves" which is but another way of saying that what they are and have now is not good enough; they must do and be other things.

In any discussion of academic achievement, however, the concept of intelligence must play a central role. But before proceeding with a discussion of the concept of intelligence, one must be cautioned to bear in mind that "intelligence" (whatever it is) is generally measured by so-called intelligence tests which result in measures called IQ scores. These IQ scores are not, however, direct measures of any " innate intellectual ability," but rather are scores on what is essentially an academic achievement test that is, by its very design, very culturally biased.

Bryde (1966, p. 39-42) reviewed the available studies of American Indian intelligence, and all of the studies reviewed tended to conclude that the lower IQ scores generally found among Indians are due to psychological and/or cultural variables and not to genetic weakness.

Havighurst (1957), for example, maintains that the explanation lies solely in motivation. He feels that although the Indian students have innately the same ability, they have different motivation. Since they are not competitive, but cooperative, their culture does not prepare them for traditional academic work. As a result, they achieve less and less as they grow older.

In support of a cultural variable as the basis for lower IQ scores among Indian children, the study of

Rohrer (1942) is eminently pertinent. Rohrer hypothesized that if Indian children could be found who were equal to White children in socio-economic level, cultural opportunities, and comparable schooling, there would be no difference in their IQ scores. He found such a group of 235 Osage Indian children who lived in circumstances similar to their White neighbors and were on a par with them educationally, economically, and culturally. He found no significant differences, between the Indian children as a whole with the White group, nor any significant relationship with degrees of "blood" (to use again Bryde's term).

It should be noted, however, that the exclusion of genetic factors is perhaps unwarranted. The importance of cultural variables is perhaps rightly underscored, but genetic influence must remain an open question pending further study. Indeed, Jensen (1968, 1971) has suggested that intellectual abilities are highly influenced by evolutionary selection, just as are some physiological variables.

It would seem that such findings need to be complimented by investigations of "culturally deprived" children in general. It has been found (e.g. Ludeman, 1930; Thorndike, 1940; Decter, 1964) that they as well not only score low on achievement and intelligence measures, but as they grow older, the drop increases. Such a comparison suggests that the alienation/achievement problem of the Indian may not be a characteristic exclusive to him.

In summary, the research available regarding Indian student intelligence and achievement indicates that there is a tendency toward lower scores on both measures with increase in age and grade. It is assumed pending investigation, that this trend begins at an early age, possibly at the grade one level. Current evidence corroborates Bryde's statement (1966, p. 31) that this tendency appears to be most acute at the junior high school level. Very notably, this trend continues on a national basis through the twelfth grade level as manifest by a drop-out rate of 94% (Hawthorn, 1967). The hypothesized reason for this pattern centers around the belief that an alienation syndrome, a complex of personality traits, becomes more pronounced at around the grade seven-eight-nine level. Refinements of this view are brought forth in the next chapter.

Definition of Terms

With the review of the literature related to the concepts of acculturation, alienation, and educational achievement being now complete, specific and summarizing definitions of these terms are here presented:

1. Indian--refers in this study to those people of native ancestry who have or have had the legal status of Indian; that is, those registered as Indians with the Department of Indian Affairs.

2. Acculturation--refers to a complex, dynamic ongoing process, the component phenomenon thereof being the

results of continuous first hand contact between groups of individuals of different cultures. This contact, in turn, makes for changes in the original material culture and/or behavioral patterns of either or both contact groups.

3. Alienation--refers to a multi-dimensional and global syndrome of feelings resulting within the individual from existing socio-cultural conditions. Involved is an estrangement of the self from the self, from others, from the culture, from nature and from the supernatural. Such estrangement results in feelings of powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, purposelessness, distrust, pessimism, and self-contempt within the individual.

4. Educational Achievement--refers to the level of academic success attained by an individual as measured by standardized and non-standardized tests.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN

The present study is essentially a modified and extended replication of Bryde's (1966) study of the cross-over phenomenon. It differs from that of Bryde in three ways; first, a different instrument was used to measure the central concept; second, the instrument was administered to subjects of a wider grade range; and third, a smaller sample from a different geographic location was employed. Methodological problems arose relative to the first and third of these points of difference.

The Instrument

As was previously noted, Bryde employed the MMPI in his study. There has, however, been little cross-cultural use made of the MMPI with North American Indians. The prime objection to such usage is, as Couture (1972, p. 38) notes, that the MMPI was normed on a white, psychologically deviant group, and thus an analysis of responses from a very culturally different group might lead to quite invalid conclusions.

It was thus felt that the MMPI had to be abandoned in favor of an instrument that would hopefully be a more valid measure of alienation in such an intercultural context.

Once this decision was made, three additional

problems arose. First, a conceptual definition of alienation had to be developed; second, this definition had to be operationalized by way of an instrument; and third, the reliability and validity of the instrument had to be established.

Further to the first point, an attempt to form a Gestalt, a meaningful whole, on the concept revealed that a perspective wide enough to incorporate all of the relevant aspects did not exist. It was as though the currently existing multitude of views on the topic were not as much incorrect as they were partial.

Schiller and Hegel, for example, were concerned with the separation of man from the society. Marx was concerned with the separation of man from both himself and his fellow man. Fromm was concerned with the separation of man from virtually everything conceivable, but in particular from himself, others, the culture, and nature. Tillich's prime concern seemed to be the separation of man from God.

Durkheim, Merton and Srole focused their attention largely upon the feelings of normlessness that develop within an individual as a result of sudden changes occurring in a social system.

Seeman distilled the concepts of powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, social isolation, and self-estrangement out of the then-existing social-psychological literature, adding the concept of cultural estrangement at a later date.

Keniston isolated the concepts of distrust, pessimism, avowed hostility, interpersonal alienation, cultural alienation, self-contempt, social isolation, vacillation, subspection, outsider, and unstructured universe from his prolonged, first-hand contact with "alienated youths." He later, however, focused his attention more on the concepts of cultural alienation, social isolation, pessimism, distrust and self-contempt as being more central to the "alienation syndrome."

On the basis of this multitude of seemingly partial definitions, the writer chose to define alienation as referring to a series of estrangements; of the self from the self, from others, from the culture, from nature, and from the supernatural. These estrangements were seen as eliciting within the individual feelings of powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, purposelessness, self-contempt, distrust, and pessimism.

A significant point to note here is that, by this definition, the writer obviously conceives of alienation for the Indian as being essentially no different from alienation for the non-Indian.

The approach to the topic of cultural estrangement taken in this study is based on the ideas of Florence Kluckhohn (1961), and as such should be elaborated upon.

Summarized briefly, Kluckhohn states that there are but a limited number of "common human problems" for which all societies at all times must find solutions. Further,

Kluckhohn has stated that there is but a limited range of variability in the solution to these problems, and that some degree of all possible solutions is present in all societies at all times. The "common human problems" that Kluckhohn has hypothesized to exist, together with the possible solutions or "positions" to each, are the following:

1. Relational: What is the modality of man's relations to other men? (Lineality, Collaterality or Individualism)

2. Time: What is the temporal focus of life? (Past, Present or Future)

3. Man-Nature: What is the relation of man to nature? (Subject-to, Harmony-with, or Mastery-over)

4. Activity: What is the modality of human activity? (Being, Being-in-Becoming, or Doing)

5. Human Nature: What is the character of innate human nature? (Evil, Neutral, or Good)

Further, Kluckhohn states that all cultures possess a "dominant value orientation pattern," i.e. one solution or position dominates over the other two possibilities in each of the five problem areas. The dominant value orientation pattern for the White culture in North America has been one of Individualism, Future, Mastery-over-Nature, and Doing. (Kluckhohn does not hypothesize regarding the Human Nature position in North American culture). In comparison to this, the dominant value orientation pattern of the North American Indian has been one of Collaterality, Present, Harmony-with-Nature, and Being.

Thus, the cultural estrangement portion of the definition was conceived of as being concerned with each of these "common human problems" and the culturally unique solutions to them.

Once the conceptual definition of alienation was arrived at, the next major problem was that of operationalizing the chosen definition by way of an instrument.

A cardinal rule of educational research seems to be that if an instrument exists that supposedly measures what one wishes to measure, that is what one uses.

Another such rule seems to be that if an instrument does not exist to suit one's exact needs, the next best alternative is to assemble one from portions of existing scales.

A thorough review of the currently existing instruments relating to some definition of alienation (found primarily in the compilations of Thorp (1966) and Robinson and Shaver (1969)) revealed, however, that these instruments were grossly inadequate to "tap" the dimensions of alienation involved in the chosen definition.

The writer thus decided to construct an instrument that would reflect the concerns of the chosen definition of alienation in as simple and straight forward a manner as possible.

The first draft of the instrument was discussed with both various members of the Department of Educational Psychology at the University of Alberta, and with a class of

undergraduate educational psychology students at the same university. The prime criticism raised was that the items were conceived by these people as being too difficult for the intended subjects to fully comprehend. Thus, the instrument was revised in an attempt to simplify the individual items.

The instrument, entitled the Student Orientation Inventory, is to be found in Appendix A.

Once the revision of the instrument was complete, the questions of reliability and validity had to be dealt with.

The problem of reliability was attacked by way of a pilot study in the local public and separate school systems. Split-half and parallel form measures of reliability were precluded by the form of the instrument. It was thus decided to obtain a test-retest measure of reliability with two months separating the two testings.

One hundred and seventy-six students were used in the pilot study, from two elementary, one junior high, and one senior high school. The schools were selected so as to include as many students as possible from a nearby Indian reserve. Twenty-five non-Indian and ten Indian students were tested at the grade four level, eighteen non-Indian and thirteen Indian students were tested at the grade six level, twenty-four non-Indian students and ten Indian students were tested at the grade eight level, thirty-two non-Indian and nine Indian students were tested at the grade ten level, and twenty-nine non-Indian and six Indian students were tested at the grade twelve level. In each case, the

administration of the respective school was contacted, permission to proceed was obtained, the students were contacted in intact classes and their cooperation was solicited. The students were of both sexes, ranging in age from nine to twenty.

Using this sample, with two months separating the two testings, a test-retest measure of +.69 was obtained.

One further insight arose from the pilot study. The grade four students involved seemed to find the instrument largely incomprehensible, and it was thus decided to not test students below the grade six level in the actual experimental situation.

Such measurement experts as Cronback (1970) and Kerlinger (1967) feel that the sine qua non of a measure is not its reliability, however, but rather its validity. To this end, it was felt, upon examining both the background literature and the resulting instrument, that the Student Orientation Inventory possessed a rather high degree of face, content, and construct validity. Predictive and concurrent validity could not, of course, be ascertained in advance of the actually completion of the testing.

A final and perhaps prime point should be made regarding the validity of the instrument. Since it is constructed theoretically and conceptually, rather than empirically as is the MMPI, the McClosky and Schaar (1965, p. 24) defense is relevant. As they say, in

regard to their instrument ". . . the scale is valid because quite simply, the test items define, by their content, our concept of alienation."

At any rate, it was felt, on the basis of the above-mentioned considerations, that the instrument was of sufficient merit to warrant proceeding with the study.

The Population and the Sample

The educational system of the Yukon Territory was selected as the setting within which to conduct the study. Class lists and the locations of the Indian and non-Indian students were obtained with the cooperation of the Department of Indian Affairs and the Department of Education of the Territory.

A total of one hundred and thirteen students was involved in the study; eighteen Indian and eighteen non-Indian students in grade six, sixteen Indian and sixteen non-Indian students in grade eight, twelve Indian and twelve non-Indian students in grade ten, seven Indian and seven non-Indian students in grade twelve, as well as seven Indian drop-outs (See Table I).

The records of the Department of Indian Affairs indicated that a larger number of Indian students were registered in each grade than were present at the time of the testing. However, in each case, all Indian students present were tested.

The small number of Indian students in each grade proved to be a limiting factor in the experiment, not only

TABLE 1

Dispersion of Test Population by Grade

	Indian	non-Indian
Grade Six	18	18
Grade Eight	16	16
Grade Ten	12	12
Grade Twelve	7	7
Drop-outs	7	0

in that the power of the experiment decreases with sample size, but also in that differences relative to sex and degree of biological heritage could not be drawn, as was done by Bryde.

The Procedure

As in the case of the pilot study, the administration of the respective schools was contacted and permission to proceed was obtained. Each class containing any Indian students was then contacted, and their group participation was solicited.

The California Achievement Test (Form W; Elementary, Junior High, or Advanced Level) was administered, followed by the Student Orientation Inventory.

The total number of Indian students tested in each grade was considered as the experimental group for that grade. An equal number of non-Indian students was then randomly selected from those remaining to make up the control group. This procedure obviously matched experimental and control group by grade, not by age or sex.

In addition to the Indian students in school, seven Indian dropouts were located and asked to participate in the study. Their responses were obtained and compared with Indian students of similar age, on the dimensions of alienation.

The Hypotheses

The empirical base of the study centers around three

hypotheses:

1. The measured levels of academic achievement of the Indian students will be found to be significantly lower than the measured levels for the non-Indian students, at all grade levels.

2. The measured levels of alienation of the Indian students will be found to be significantly higher than the measured levels for the non-Indian students, at all grade levels.

3. The measured level of alienation of the Indian dropouts will be found to be significantly higher than the measured level for the Indian non-dropouts.

The Analysis of the Data

The nature of the data dictates that two types of analyses be conducted.

To determine the significance of the differences between the means of the achievement test scores for the Indian and non-Indian groups, the "Student's t" test was deemed appropriate. Ferguson (1966) notes that it is both an efficient and sufficient method of determining the significance of the difference between the means of two independent, univariate samples. He further notes that it is particularly appropriate for use with small sample sizes, which the present study involves.

The problem of determining the significance of the differences between the Indian and non-Indian alienation

scores is, however, a somewhat more complex problem in that the means of all of the subscales must be considered simultaneously in the determination of the overall significance level.

To deal with this problem statistically, Hotelling's Two Sample T^2 Test (Tatsuoka, 1971) was employed. This statistical technique is the multivariate extension of the univariate "t" test addressing itself to the question of whether the vector of means of one sample differs significantly from the vector of means of another sample.

It should again be noted that the size of the sample presented a problem regarding the statistical analysis of the data. This was not only because of the fact that the power of an experiment decreases with the size of the sample, but also because currently existing tables for Hotelling's T^2 Test require that there be seven or more subjects per group.

One further point should be noted about the analyses; they were one-tailed tests in that a theoretical basis existed for anticipating that the scores of one group would exceed those of the other group.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results of the study will be presented in this chapter so as to reflect the respective concerns of the previously stated hypotheses, and may be summarized as follows:

First, on the measure of academic achievement employed in the study, the Indian students scored significantly lower than did the non-Indian students, at all levels. This, in effect, meant that the "cross-over phenomenon" was not found to be evidenced in the situation under consideration, in that at no point did the measured levels of academic achievement of the Indian students exceed those of the non-Indian students.

Second, on the chosen measure of alienation, the Indian students scored significantly higher than did the non-Indian students, again at all levels.

Third, the Indian student dropouts scored significantly higher on the measure of alienation than did the Indian student non-dropouts.

These points will be elaborated upon in the following sections.

Comparison of Levels of Academic Achievement

The first hypothesis stated that, on the measure

of academic achievement employed, the Indian students would be found to achieve at levels significantly lower than those of the non-Indian students, at all grade levels. This hypothesis was confirmed.

It was found that the mean of the scores obtained by the Indian students at the grade four level was .9 years below the mean of the scores obtained by the non-Indian students. This difference decreased to .7 years at the grade six level, but increased to 1.3 years at the grade eight level. The difference between the means of the scores was found to be .4 years at the grade ten level, and .5 years at the grade twelve level. (See Table 2). All differences were found to be significant beyond the .05 level.

These results should be analyzed theoretically. Hawthorn (1967) suggests that while the schools expectations and procedures tend to enhance and compliment the early learning experiences of the non-Indian child, they interrupt and conflict with those of the Indian child, forcing him to unlearn old patterns and acquire new ones. Hence, upon entering school, the Indian child immediately falls behind academically, because he must acquire many of the skills that the non-Indian child already possesses.

After this initial set-back, however, and largely because of the rather repetitive nature of the material dealt with in the second and third grades, the Indian student is often able to somewhat recover from this initial handicap by the fourth grade.

By about the fifth grade, after repeated academic failures and devaluations of the self, Hawthorn hypothesizes that the Indian child begins to recognize both the chasm that separates him from others and the futility of his efforts to achieve both academically and socially. He then begins to withdraw psychologically from any participation in the learning process until he is of legal age to leave physically. Not too surprisingly, Hawthorn notes, attendance, achievement, aspirations, and self-images drop markedly. This process, Bryde feels, culminates about the eighth grade level, and is marked by both significantly decreased levels of academic achievement and markedly increased levels of psychological maladjustment or "alienation."

As was noted earlier, the majority of Indian students do not survive the educational process through to the senior high school level. Those that do manage to remain in the educational system past the seemingly crucial eighth grade level, however, tend to proceed rather successfully through the remaining years. Indeed, those that do not drop out tend to close the academic gap separating them from the non-Indian students.

One further point should perhaps be made relative to these results and theoretical discussion. Loevinger (1957) presents the view that such agreement between theoretical concepts and results of a study points to a high level of construct validity of the approach.

The mean scores from Table 2 are graphically

TABLE 2

Comparison of Means of Academic Achievement Scores by Grade

	Indians	Non-Indians			
Grade	Mean	Mean	S^2	t	P
Four	2.9	3.8	1.41	2.41	< .05
Six	5.1	5.8	.65	2.65	< .05
Eight	6.1	7.4	.14	7.28	< .01
Ten	8.8	9.2	.19	2.23	< .05
Twelve	10.9	11.4	.25	1.81	< .05

presented in Figure 2. This is to facilitate a comparison of the findings of the present study on this dimension with that of Bryde, as presented in Figure 1.

It is significant that this study did not find the Bryde cross-over phenomenon. This is graphically depicted in Figure 2. Bryde found that the Indian students actually achieved at levels above the national norm from grades four to six, and then crossed over and declined from there on. This was not found to be the case in this situation, however, in that at no point under consideration did the levels of achievement of the Indian students exceed those of the non-Indian students.

It is of both interest and relevance to speculate as to why the cross-over phenomena was not found to be in existence in the setting under consideration in this study.

It was noted earlier that a number of sources hold that although much cultural variation exists among different tribes of Indians, there seem to be almost universal psychological characteristics of the North American Indian that have persisted (Kardiner, 1945; Caudill, 1955; Barnow, 1963).

Yet is must be born in mind that the term "Indian" is a generic one, and that many differences do, in fact, exist between groups of people who are labelled as Indian. This is perhaps especially true of Indians in Canada as opposed to those in the United States, in that, as Lyon (1971) notes, their historical realities are very different. The contact between the Indian and White man in the United

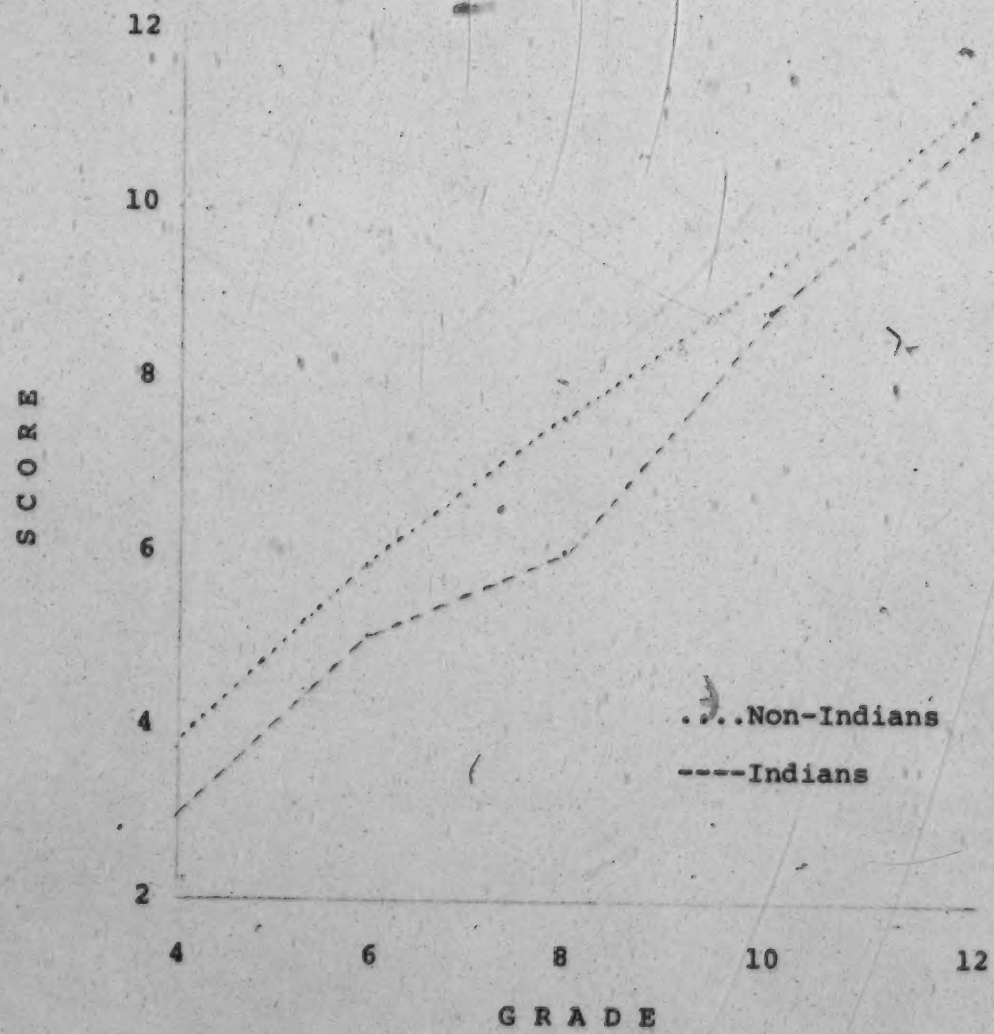

Figure 2. California Achievement Test Scores of Indian and Non-Indian Students (Simonson, 1973)

States has been marked by hostility and aggression for hundreds of years, whereas the relationship of the White man to the Indian in Canada has been of a far more peaceful, even paternalistic nature, and for a considerably shorter period of time.

Relative to the subjects of the present study, they were from not only the Yukon Territory of Canada, which is still considered to be rather a frontier area, but also from rather small and isolated villages in the Territory where contact with the "outside" world is still rather minimal. Thus it is perhaps not too surprising that they would score quite differently on an academic achievement test than would the subjects of Bryde's, who were located on a rather famous Indian reservation in South Dakota, where the contact between the Indians and Whites has been of a longer and more continuous nature.

Comparison of Levels of Alienation

The second hypothesis stated that Indian students would be found to be significantly more alienated than the non-Indian students, at all grade levels. This hypothesis, too, was confirmed.

More specifically, Indian students at the grade six level obtained a mean score on the Student Orientation Inventory of 44, as compared with a mean score of 28 for the non-Indian students of the same grade. The respective scores for the Indian and non-Indian students at the grade eight

level were 62 and 34, at the grade ten level were 35 and 25, and at the grade twelve level were 31 and 23. The Hotelling's T^2 Test revealed that all differences were significant beyond the .05 level.

A summary of these results is to be found in Table 3. The means of the various subscales for the various groups of subjects is to be found in Table 4. The coding employed is as follows: Se-alienation from the self, Ot-alienation from others, Cu-alienation from the culture, Na-alienation from nature, Su-alienation from the supernatural, Po-powerlessness, Me-meaninglessness, No-normlessness, Pu-purposelessness, S.C.-self-contempt, Di-distrust, and Pe-pessimism.

Again, a theoretical interpretation of these results is in order. As both Hawthorn and Bryde contend, by about the fifth or sixth grade, the Indian students are strongly experiencing the psychologically cumulative effects of cultural disruption, academic failures, and devaluations of the self. As such, they begin to recognize both the chasm separating them from other students and the futility of their efforts to achieve both academically and socially. The resulting high levels of personality disturbance and psychological maladjustment tends to ultimately culminate in the Indian students physically leaving the situation, or "dropping out." Indeed, this dropping-out, Bryde and Hawthorn contend, is a direct result of this period of high personal stress, and tends to occur most frequently around the eighth grade level.

TABLE 3

Comparison of Means of Student Alienation Scores

	$\bar{X}_{..}$ Indian	$\bar{X}_{..}$ Non-Indian	T^2	df	F	p
Grade Six	44	28	53.57	12,27	3.17	< .05
Grade Eight	62	34	253.11	12,23	14.37	< .01
Grade Ten	35	25	67.03	12,19	3.54	< .05
Grade Twelve	31	23	369.17	12,11	5.69	< .05

TABLE 4

Alienation Subscale Means

	Se	Ot	Cu	Na	Su	Po	Me	No	Pu	S.C.	Di	Pe
Grade Six, Indians	51	40	54	38	32	39	51	29	34	52	52	48
Grade Six, non-Indians	36	24	10	32	23	46	37	19	39	26	15	29
Grade Eight, Indians	72	58	70	62	44	60	53	73	47	78	56	71
Grade Eight, non-Indians	45	41	17	39	30	47	44	17	35	45	28	20
Grade Ten, Indians	25	33	46	40	35	30	38	45	29	38	32	29
Grade Ten, non-Indians	38	35	15	42	27	34	37	8	37	21	10	16
Grade Twelve, Indians	22	25	45	38	29	22	23	46	22	35	38	20
Grade Twelve, non-Indians	20	17	8	43	35	24	33	14	37	18	15	12
Indian Drop-outs	79	68	42	61	44	87	76	83	87	91	83	88

Those students that do drop out at this stage are the specific concern of the third hypothesis, and as such will be considered in the next section. Those Indian students that do survive this period of peak personal stress, however, tend to recover a considerable degree of psychological stability and adjustment, and as their levels of alienation decline through the ensuing years, their levels of academic achievement tend to rise, approaching those attained by the non-Indian students.

Again, a rather high degree of agreement is noted between background theory and the results of the study.

Comparison of Indian Dropouts and Non-Dropouts

The third hypothesis stated that the Indian dropouts would be found to be significantly more alienated than those Indian students who did not drop out. This hypothesis, too, was confirmed.

As was previously noted, Indian students in grades six, eight, ten, and twelve, respectively, obtained mean scores of 44, 62, 35, and 31 on the Student Orientation Inventory. The group of Indian dropouts tested, however, obtained a mean score of 74 on the same instrument.

Again applying Hotelling's T^2 Test to these data revealed that these differences were all significant beyond the .05 level. (See Table 5). Indeed, these findings are similar to those of Bryde not only in that the Indian dropouts were found to be significantly more alienated than the

Indian students who did not drop out, but also that they as a group were found to be significantly more alienated than any other single group, including those Indian students at the grade eight level.

Again, a theoretical interpretation of this phenomenon is in order. It has been previously stated that the period around the grade eight level seems to be a crucial stage in the lives of the Indian students. By this time, they are largely "adrift", uprooted and largely cut off from their cultural past, and as yet they have not made a successful transition to the world of the so-called "White man". Those Indian students who do make this transition are fortunate in that, although they alienate themselves significantly from their cultural heritage, they do, at least, have provisional replacements for these lost cultural elements.

The Indian dropouts, on the other hand, are not so fortunate. By having been in the non-Indian educational system for a number of years, they have largely missed the opportunity to learn the traditional ways of the Indian community from which they came, and, in effect, find themselves quite unable to return to that setting as functioning, autonomous members. Further, by " dropping out", they quite effectively cut themselves off from their prime vehicle to success in the world of the "White man". They thus find themselves largely people without a culture, cut off from and unable to function in either group. Thus, it is perhaps not

TABLE 5

Comparison of Means of Alienation Scores of Indian Students and Dropouts

	Student Means	Dropout Mean	T^2	df	F	P
Grade Six	44	74	155.3	12,12	8.76	$< .01$
Grade Eight	62	74	66.4	12,10	3.61	$< .05$
Grade Ten	35	74	315.9	12,6	26.35	$< .01$
Grade Twelve	31	74	5057.29	12,1	351.6	$< .05$

too surprising that they appear to be significantly more "alienated" than any other single group.

A subjective comment should perhaps be made at this point regarding the writer's impression of the subjects reactions to both the California Achievement Test and the Student Orientation Inventory. It was his distinct impression that, at all grade levels, an atmosphere of dutiful boredom prevailed during the completion of the former, whereas this changed to one of considerable emotionality during the completion of the latter. It was as though the items of the Student Orientation Inventory somehow hit upon topics that were of considerable concern to them, and they put considerable thought and feeling into their responses. Also, the students invariably detained the writer for considerable periods of questioning and discussion relative to the instrument after they had completed it. This general reaction rather pleased the writer in that it led him to believe that perhaps he was obtaining valid responses to the instrument.

In addition to the foregoing presentation and discussion of the results of the study, a final summarizing comment should be made relative to the overall validity of the approach employed in the study. In the foregoing discussion, attention has been drawn to the degree of agreement evidenced between the background theory and the results of the study. At this point, Loevinger's (1957, p. 636) comment on construct validity, (i.e. how well theoretical concepts explain performance on a test), is

eminently relevant. She states that "from a scientific point of view, construct validity is the whole of validity; predictive, concurrent, and content validities are all essentially ad hoc." Further she states: "only construct validity promises tests which will both draw from and contribute to psychology" (p. 689).

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

Summary

Three hypotheses were explored in this study:

First, the Indian students under consideration would be found to achieve at significantly lower levels than the non-Indian students on the chosen measure of academic achievement.

Second, the Indian students under consideration would be found to score significantly higher than the non-Indian students on the chosen measure of alienation.

Third, the Indian dropouts would be found to score significantly higher on the chosen measure of alienation than would the Indian students who did not drop out.

All hypotheses were confirmed.

In view of the fact that the present study was essentially a modified replication of that of Bryde (1966), a comparison of the results of both studies is in order. Perhaps the most glaring difference between the results of the two studies lies in the fact that the present study did not, in fact, constitute a study of the "cross-over phenomenon" in that at no point did the measured levels of academic achievement of the Indian students exceed those of the non-Indian students. In the Bryde study, however, the Indian students in the lower grades did, in fact, achieve academically

at significantly higher levels than did the non-Indian students. A similar decline in academic achievement was, however, noted with the grade progression.

As in the Bryde study, the Indian students in the present study were found to be significantly more alienated than the non-Indian students, at all levels. Also, the Indian student drop-outs scored significantly higher on the measure of alienation than did the Indian non-dropouts. Indeed, as with Bryde, their score on the alienation measure exceeded that of any other group considered in the study.

In view of the foregoing similarities noted between the findings of the present study and that of Bryde, perhaps Bryde's (1966, p. 141) conclusion could be employed here as well, namely that "the concept of alienation appears to be central in explaining the behavior of the Indian students studied."

One must be cautioned, however, on these findings. Although the results of the study, do in fact, point to a rather high degree of predictive, concurrent and construct validity of the instrument, the conclusions are based upon the results of testing a rather small group of students with an untested instrument. As such, perhaps a replication of the present study employing a larger sample would be warranted, followed perhaps by a factor analysis of the resulting data.

Conclusions

The basic purpose of this study was to attempt to

ascertain if the Indian students under consideration were indeed more alienated than the non-Indian students and in what ways. The results noted in the previous chapter indicate that they were, and the manner of the differences was spelled out.

However, a crucial point must here be made. Loken (1968, p. 36) notes that alienation is not necessarily a completely negative quality, in that the alienated may have a definite contribution to make toward a constructive reappraisal of society. Indeed, as Keniston (1965, p. 358) states: ". . . it cannot simply be stated that society is right and the alienated wrong; alienation may point more to a society that needs treatment than to an individual that needs therapy." This is Van den Berg's (1961) point when he refers to "sociosis", or a sick society, rather than to "neurosis" or a sick individual. This is also Laing's (1965) point when he puts forth the view that perhaps to adjust to the so-called "normal" society indicates a greater degree of psychological maladjustment than that evidenced by the schizophrenic who seemingly cannot adjust to this world.

Further, it may be stated that, in the absence of a perfect society, the total disappearance of alienation would inevitably entail stagnation. No existing social order is without its remediable inconsistencies, its needless stresses, its excessive demands. Furthermore, it will presumably continue to be true that every social gain, however major, entails the loss of the virtues of the past

and a creation of a new set of problems for the future. Total commitment to any society therefore means a commitment to remediable evil. Without at least some men and women sufficiently alienated to challenge the established order, to decry its assumptions, to suggest remedies for its faults, and to agitate their less alienated fellows into sufficient dissatisfaction, no social innovation is possible. Thus, from a social point of view, the cultivation of and tolerance for alienation, at least in some individuals, is a pre-requisite for any major social improvement.

Implications for Education

> Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.
>
> Section 2, Article 26, Universal Declaration of Human Rights

It must here be born in mind that this thesis is written on the diagnostic level, hopefully laying a portion of the foundation for both therapeutic and preventative work. As such, the following comments must be considered as both tentative and provisional.

Bloom, Davis, and Hess (1965) in the United States have suggested that "we are in the midst of such basic social change that it is appropriate to use the term "revolution." One of the areas of the revolution they identify as:

". . . rising levels of aspiration of individuals and groups that have long been submerged or placed in marginal positions.

These aspirations are for a larger share in the affluence of society and for the education which will make it possible" (p. 53). Thus, the appropriateness of the current objectives of education for schools serving pupils of Indian ancestry must be reexamined to ascertain how well an educational system designed by a dominant cultural group is serving the interests and aspirations of such a minority group.

The timeliness of such a re-evaluation is evident from Cardinal's (1969) warning:

> The Indian has reached the end of an era. The things that we hold sacred, the things that we believe in, have been repudiated by the Federal government. But we will not be silenced again, left behind to be absorbed conveniently into the wretched fringes of a society that institutionalizes wretchedness. The Buckskin curtain is coming down.
>
> The Indian and with him the larger Canadian society, faces two alternatives--a future in which the Indian may realize his potential through the provision of the essential resources which are rightfully his, or a future where frustrations are deepened by a continued state of deprivation leading to chaos and civil disorder.

To this end it is relevant to here note that Malinowski (1943) disliked the word "acculturation" preferring instead the word "transculturation" because with it there are "no implications of one standard dominating all the phases of cultural change, but a transition in which both sides are active, each contributing its quota, each merging into a new reality of civilization."

This is perhaps what Renaud (1971) envisioned when he put forth the following suggestions aimed at ending the self-repeating process of educational failure for the Indian students:

First - the fostering of mutual understanding and respect between people of Indian and non-Indian ancestry.

Second - the fostering of a desire on the part of both groups to appreciate and use the unique contributions which the Indian culture can make to Canada.

Third - (and most important) a recognition of the right of Indians to say what kind of education they will have for their children and to have a controlling voice in the managment of that education.

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APPENDIX A

THE INSTRUMENT

(ARRANGED BY DIMENSION)

A. Estrangement from the Self

1. I often wonder what sort of person I really am.

B. Estrangement from Others

2. I often feel all alone in the world.

C. Estrangement from the Culture

3. I think that people should live for the present, not the future.

4. I think that people should try to work together with their neighbors rather than working just for themselves.

5. I think that people should try to be doing something all the time, rather than just sitting around.

D. Estrangement from Nature

6. I think that people should try to live in harmony with nature rather than always trying to be master over it.

E. Estrangement from the Supernatural

7. I feel that God and religion form a very important part of my life.

F. Powerlessness

8. I feel that I have no power to influence what happens to me in the future.

G. Meaninglessness

9. I feel that the world today is too complicated for me to understand.

H. Normlessness

10. I feel that there just aren't any rules to live by anymore.

I. Purposelessness

11. I feel that I have a real purpose in living.

J. Self-Contempt

12. I feel that I am a pretty good person.

K. Distrust

13. I feel that most people cannot be trusted.

L. Pessimism

14. I think that I will have a good and happy life.

APPENDIX B

THE INSTRUMENT

(FINAL FORM)

STUDENT ORIENTATION INVENTORY

We are interested in your opinion on a variety of issues. You are asked to give your honest responses to the following items. There are no right nor wrong answers, only opinions. Also, do not give a certain answer just because you think it is what you are expected to say, i.e. please be completely truthful in your answers.

Directions: (please read carefully)

If you strongly agree, mark the first blank . . . 1=2=3=4=5=

If you agree, mark the second blank . . . 1=2=3=4=5=

If you disagree, mark the fourth blank . . . 1=2=3=4=5=

If you strongly disagree, mark the fifth blank ...1=2=3=4=5=

Please be sure that your answer on the answer sheet corresponds to the same number on the inventory.

Please make no marks on the inventory booklet; put your name and answers on the IBM sheet.

Thank you very much for your time and efforts; it is greatly appreciated.

1. I often wonder what sort of person I really am.
2. I often feel all alone in the world.
3. I think that people should live for the present, not the future.
4. I think that people should try to work together with their neighbors rather than working just for themselves.
5. I think that people should try to be doing something all the time, rather than just sitting around.
6. I think that people should try to live in harmony with nature rather than always trying to be master over it.
7. I feel that God and religion form a very important part of my life.
8. I feel that I have no power to influence what happens to me in the future.
9. I feel that the world today is too complicated for me to understand.
10. I feel that there just aren't any rules to live by anymore.
11. I feel that I have a real purpose in living.
12. I feel that I am a pretty good person.
13. I feel that most people cannot be trusted.
14. I think I will have a good and happy life.

APPENDIX C

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN ALIENATION SUBSCALES

INDIAN SAMPLE, N=80

	Se	Ot	Cu	Na	Su	Po	Me	No	Pu	S.C.	Di	Pe
Se												
Ot	.68											
Cu	.72	.65										
Na	.52	.46	.61									
Su	.66	.58	.73	.77								
Po	.45	.53	.51	.46	.58							
Me	.48	.54	.43	.52	.52	.61						
No	.51	.68	.50	.71	.62	.70	.67					
Pu	.46	.51	.60	.57	.55	.68	.74	.63				
S.C.	.71	.57	.63	.47	.52	.63	.61	.76	.64			
Di	.58	.70	.53	.55	.61	.64	.56	.68	.60	.72		
Pe	.61	.74	.58	.63	.68	.66	.70	.65	.68	.62	.72	

NON-INDIAN SAMPLE, N=73

	Se	Ot	Cu	Na	Su	Po	Me	No	Pu	S.C.	Di	Pe
Se												
Ot	.57											
Cu	.44	.47										
Na	.49	.36	.41									
Su	.47	.51	.46	.53								
Po	.33	.30	.19	.17	.26							
Me	.31	.29	.27	.34	.21	.36						
No	.38	.33	.40	.31	.42	.40	.39					
Pu	.34	.29	.36	.26	.34	.41	.45	.39				
S.C.	.54	.38	.24	.29	.35	.42	.31	.38	.23			
Di	.37	.42	.36	.41	.29	.44	.36	.58	.30	.28		
Pe	.46	.51	.31	.36	.42	.31	.40	.46	.33	.39	.49	

APPENDIX D

STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF ALIENATION SUBSCALE MEANS

	Se	Ot	Cu	Na	Su	Po	Me	No	Pu	S.C.	Di	Pe
Grade Six, Indians	5.2	7.2	4.1	9.2	10.2	5.7	5.6	12.3	11.4	7.4	6.2	5.2
Grade Six, non-Indians	7.4	6.3	6.3	6.4	7.1	9.6	8.6	5.3	9.7	11.2	4.7	7.2
Grade Eight, Indians	6.3	6.9	2.3	7.4	12.6	4.3	3.9	5.7	8.2	3.1	7.4	6.9
Grade Eight, non-Indians	11.2	9.9	5.3	11.5	9.7	8.5	6.3	7.7	11.2	9.2	6.9	5.7
Grade Ten, Indians	5.9	7.4	6.7	9.2	9.8	4.9	8.6	11.2	10.3	6.5	5.4	3.1
Grade Ten, non-Indians	5.2	8.6	4.9	8.2	7.8	6.2	11.4	6.3	7.3	5.7	3.9	4.2
Grade Twelve, Indians	7.3	6.4	8.9	8.6	6.3	5.7	9.8	6.8	11.3	9.8	8.7	6.6
Grade Twelve, non-Indians	6.1	4.7	4.6	8.2	9.4	5.9	6.3	5.6	9.2	6.1	4.6	5.3
Indian drop-outs	2.3	3.9	9.7	11.2	8.5	4.2	5.7	2.9	3.3	3.8	2.7	2.9